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SS-15 PRS-01 SP-02 TRSE-00 NSC-05 OMB-01 EB-08
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O R 210817Z MAR 77
FM USMISSION NATO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2297
SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO CINCLANT
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E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: MPOL, NATO
SUBJECT: MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE 1977; DRC DISCUSSION OF SECOND DRAFT

REF: (A) USNATO 1451 (DTG 141808Z MAR 77), (B) USNATO 1537
(DTG 171920Z MAR 77), (C) STATE 049216 (DTG 050121Z MAR 77)

SUMMARY: IN MARATHON DRAFTING SESSION MARCH 18, DEFENSE REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC) COMPLETED DISCUSSION OF SECOND DRAFT MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE 1977. SECTION ON "IMPLICATIONS FOR NATO FORCES" WAS SHORTENED TO DEAL ONLY WITH AREAS REQUIRING CRITICAL ATTENTION, AND IMPROVED IN BOTH STYLE AND SUBSTANCE. A SECTION ON PRIORITIES WAS ADDED. RESOURCES DISCUSSION WAS LIVELY; DRC ACCEPTED LESS PEJORATIVE LANGUAGE ON PAST RESOURCE ALLOCATION TO NATO THAN IS CONTAINED IN PRESENT DRAFT, AND TIGHTENED STRUCTURE OF PARAGRAPH DESCRIBING FUTURE RESOURCE ALLOCATION (WITHOUT AGREEMENT ON WHAT ACTUAL FIGURE WILL BE SPECIFIED AS PERCENT OF REAL ANNUAL INCREASES REQUIRED). ALLIANCE COOPERATION

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SECTION WAS EXPANDED TO COVER FLEXIBILITY, RATIONALIZATION OF TRAINING AND DOCTRINE, AND INFRASTRUCTURE. INTERNATIONAL STAFF (IS) WILL PRODUCE THIRD DRAFT BY MARCH 22 FOR INSTRUCTED DRC DISCUSSION DURING WEEK OF APRIL 4. END SUMMARY.

1. IN OPENING MARCH 18 DRC DISCUSSION OF SECOND DRAFT MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE 1977 (REF A), CHAIRMAN (ASYG MUMFORD) URGED DRC TO RISE ABOVE PURELY NATIONAL PREOCCUPATIONS, SO THAT CAPITALS COULD BE PROVIDED WITH A THIRD DRAFT THAT

MIGHT COMMAND WIDE ALLIANCE SUPPORT. DRC THEN RESUMED DISCUSSION WHICH HAD STARTED MARCH 16 (REF B) OF SECOND DRAFT. HIGHLIGHTS FOLLOW IN SUBSEQUENT PARAGRAPHS.

2. SECTION IV. IMPLICATIONS FOR NATO FORCES

A. DRC AGREED TO DELETE PARAGRAPHS 15 AND 17 FROM THIS SECTION AND INCORPORATE THE SUBSTANCE OF THESE PARAGRAPHS IN A SEPARATE SECTION ON PRIORITIES.

B. STRATEGY (PARA 13). COMMITTEE AGREED TO DELETE THE FIRST SENTENCE AND RETAIN THE REMAINDER OF THE PARAGRAPH AS DRAFTED. CANADIAN (COL. OLSON) AND MC CDRE GELUYCKENS) REPS COMMENTED ON THE OVERLAP BETWEEN THIS PARA AND THE DUTCH SUGGESTION THAT A BRIEF RESTATEMENT OF NATO'S DEFENSIVE CONCEPT BE INCLUDED IN THE INTRODUCTORY SECTION OF THE GUIDANCE DOCUMENT (PARA 4, REF B). IS WILL ATTEMPT TO ELIMINATE THIS REDUNDANCY IN NEXT DRAFT.

C. WARNING OF WAR (PARA 14). DRC QUICKLY AGREED TO US REP (BADER) SUGGESTION FOR LANGUAGE WHICH WOULD FIRST NOTE COMPRESSION OF WARNING TIMES ACROSS SPECTRUM OF POSSIBLE WP ATTACK SCENARIOS, THEN SPECIFY THAT PARTICULAR NOTE MUST BE MADE OF INCREASED WP ABILITY TO LAUNCH AN UNREINFORCED ATTACK.

D. READY FORCES (PARA 16). DRC AGREED TO AMEND THIS PARAGRAPH TO (1) MENTION THE NEED FOR EUROPEAN RESERVES TO BE CAPABLE OF RAPID DEPLOYMENT; (2) NOTE THAT ATTENTION

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SHOULD BE ACCORDED TO SOME MALDEPLOYMENT PROBLEMS; AND (3) DELETE THE SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO MNC FORCE STANDARDS IN THE SECOND SENTENCE. IN RESPONSE TO DUTCH REP (WIJNAENDTS) SUGGESTION, A SEPARATE PARAGRAPH WILL NOT THE NEED FOR ALL NATO FORCES TO MEET MNC FORCE STANDARDS. REGARDING MALDEPLOYMENT, SHAPE REP (BGEN SCHWEITZER) ARGUED AGAINST RAISING THE PROBLEM, STATING THAT SACEUR CANNOT CORRECT "STRATEGIC MALDEPLOYMENT" DUE TO THE HIGH COSTS INVOLVED, BUT NOTED THAT SOLUTIONS TO SOME FORWARD POSITIONING PROBLEMS SHOULD BE SOUGHT. DUTCH REP, NOTING HIS COUNTRY'S PROBLEM IN THIS REGARD, INSISTED ON A REFERENCE TO MALDEPLOYMENT.

E. REINFORCEMENTS (PARAS 18-20). COMMITTEE ADOPTED DUTCH SUGGESTION TO REDUCE THIS SECTION TO A SINGLE, CONCISE PARAGRAPH WHICH WOULD (1) NOTE NATO'S NEED FOR RAPID REINFORCEMENT, AND (2) PLACE SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON IMPROVEMENT OF AIR AND SEALIFT CAPABILITIES AND RECEPTION FACILITIES.

F. CRISIS MANAGEMENT (PARA 21). DRC ADOPTED UK REP'S SUGGESTION TO BEGIN WITH STATEMENT OF NEED TO TAKE PROMPT POLITICAL DECISIONS IN TIMES OF TENSION, AND MC REP'S STATEMENT OF NEED FOR CRISIS MANAGEMENT SYSTEMS

TO BE MANNED ADEQUATELY IN PEACETIME. DRC ALSO ADDED LANGUAGE TO NOTE DETERRENT IMPACT OF OVERT REINFORCEMENT MOVES IN A PERIOD OF TENSION (ALONG LINES OF PENULTIMATE SENTENCE IN PARA 19).

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O R 210817Z MAR 77
FM USMISSION NATO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2298
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G. REGIONAL PROBLEMS (PARAS 22-23). DRC MOIFIED DRAFT PARA 22 TO REFER TO ALLIANCE DEFENSE AS "INDIVISIBLE," EXPANDED THIRD SENTENCE TO REFERE TO "FLANKS", RATHER THAN MERELY NORTHERN FLANK, AND ADDED STATEMENT OF NEED FOR IMPROVED CALL-UP CAPABILITIES ON THE FLANKS. TURKISH REP (TOPUR) EXPRESSED DISSATISFACTION WITH PARA 23 ON NEGOTIATIONS WITH GREECE, ARGUING THAT DEFENSE PLANNING COULD NOT AWAIT AN "OUTCOME", BUT MUST SOLVE PRESENT PROBLEMS RESUTLTING FROM GREEK WITHDRAWAL FROM THE INTEGRATED MILITARY STRUCTURE. CHAIRMAN AND SEVERAL REPS ATTEMPTED COMPROMISE LANGUAGE TO NO AVAL; DRC AGREED TO ALLOW CHAIRMAN TO WORK OUT PRIVATELY, WITH TURKISH REP, SUITABLE LANGUAGE FOR INCLUSION IN THIRD DRAFT.

H. MARITIME (PARAS 24-25). SACLANT REP (CDR COTE) INTRODUCED LANGUAGE TO EMPHASIZE THAT TRENDS RATHER THAN PRESENT RELATIVE FORCE CAPABILITIES WERE THE SOURCE OF CONCERN, AND TO DELTE DETAILED REFERENCE TO MISSION OF

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SEA-LANE PROTECTION(WHICH MIGHT UNDULY CONSTRAIN SACLANT'S FLEXIBLITY IN PERFORMING TASKS IN SUPPORT OF THIS WELL-KNOW HIGH PRIORITY MISSION). NATIONAL REPS AGREED TO THESE CHANGES, BUT SHAPE REP, MC REP AND CHAIRMAN DISAGREED

WITH THE LATTER CHANGE, AND WERE UNMOVED DESPITE COTE'S SKILLFUL ARGUMENT THAT IT IS SACLANT WHO MUST DECIDE HOW BEST TO PERFORM HIS MISSION. DRC AGREED TO USE SACLANT LANGUAGE AS A BASIS FOR NEXT DRAFT; IN VIEW OF CHAIRMAN'S STRONG VIEW OF NEED FOR STATEMENT THAT SEA LANE "PROTECTION" IS "MOST IMPORTANT" PRIORITY, HOWEVER, WE EXPECT IT WILL BE INCLUDED DESPITE LACK OF NATIONAL SUPPORT FOR IT. SEVERAL REPS EXPRESSED PREFERENCE TO DELETE PARA 25 COMPLETELY OR, AT A MINIMUM, MOVE ALL BUT THE LAST SENTENCE TO PARA 38 ON TECHNOLOGY. SACLANT REP DESIRED TO DELETE LAST SENTENCE. FOLLOWING LENGTHY DISCUSSION, DRC AGREED TO RETAIN PARA 25 FOR THE NEXT DRAFT FOR INSTRUCTED DISCUSSION OF THE POINTS MADE IN IT.

I. AIR DEFENSE (PARA 26). DRC AGREED TO AMEND DRAFT TEXT BY (1) ADDING A PHRASE NOTING MARITIME AIR DEFENSE NEEDS, (2) NOTING THAT FULL USE SHOULD BE MADE OF ALL OPERATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF MODER AIRCRAFT, (3) REFERENCING THE NEED TO CORRECT DEFICIENCIES IN ALLIANCE DEFENSE AGAINST LOW-ALTITUDE ATTACKS, AND (4) DELETING THE LAST SENTENCE.

J. LOGISTICS AND SUPPORT FACILITIES (PARA 27). FRG REP (BGEN SCHUENEMANN) NOTED NEED FOR APPROPRIATE AND STRONG STATEMENT ON WAR RESERVE STOCKS, SUGGESTING LANGUAGE FROM PARA 34G OF MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE 1975 (MG75), WHICH TIES NEED FOR SUSTAINABILITY TO THE NECESSITY TO AVOID PREMATURE USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. THIS GAINED WIDE SUPPORT. DRC EXPRESSED UNANIMOUS DISAPPROVAL OF "MUSHY" LAST SENTENCE; US REP ATTEMPTED LANGUAGE WHICH WOULD NOTE NEED FOR "GREATER INTEGRATION OF CONSUMER LOGISTICS ON AN ALLINACE-SIDE SCALE." ALTHOUGH DRC WAS UNWILLING TO GO THIS FAR, COMMITTEE AGREED TO LANGUAGE FROM PARA 49 OF MG 75 WHICH NOTES

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THAT DESPITE THE FACT THAT LOGISTICS IS A NATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY, THIS SHOULD NOT PREVENT INCREASED LOGISTICS COOPERATION. MORE IMPORTANTLY, DRC ELECTED TO TURN THIS STATEMENT AROUND AND PLACE IT IN THE ACTIVE VOICE, IN ORDER TO STRESS THE NEED FOR COOPERATION, RATHER THAN THE WELL-WORN CLICHE THAT LOGISTICS IS A NATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY.

K. EAST-WEST NEGOTIATIONS. DRC AGREED TO US REP'S SUGGESTION TO ADD A SHORT STATEMENT ON THHIS SUBJECT AT THE BEGINNING OF THE GUIDANCE DOCUMENT, AS A DESIRABLE REFLECTION OF PEACEFUL INTENT OF NATO.

L. MODERN TECHNOLOGY (PARA 38). AT US REP'S SUGGESTION, COMMITTEE AGREED TO INCORPORATE THE DISCUSSION OF NEW TECHNOLOGY IN SECTION IV, RATHER THAN DEVOTING A SEPARATE SECTION TO IT, ANDTO RECAST THE PRESENT PARAGRAPH TO REFLECT MORE ACCURATELY THE FINDINGS OF THE MIT AND PIT

STUDIES. AS AMENDED, THIS PARAGRAPH WILL NOTE THAT MODERN TECHNOLOGY, IF PROPERLY USED, CAN ENHANCE NATO'S DEFENSE CAPABILITIES BY PROVIDING IMPROVED DETECTION OF ENEMY ATTACK PREPARATIONS AND INCREASE THE FLEXIBILITY OF ALLIANCE FORCES THROUGH INCREASES IN THE DESTRUCTIVENESS AND ACCURACY OF CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS.

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M. DEFENSE AGAINST ARMOR. AT US REP'S SUGGESTION, DRC AGREED TO INCLUDE A SHORT PARAGRAPH ON ANTI-ARMOR. CONSENSUS WAS TO (1) NOTE THAT ALTHOUGH THE ALLIANCE HAD IMPROVED ITS ANTI-ARMOR CAPABILITIES, THE GAP BETWEEN THESE CAPABILITIES AND PACT ARMOR IS WIDENING AND (2) ENCOURAGE THOSE NATIONS WHOSE CURRENT HOLDINGS AND ACQUISITION PLANS FALL SHORT OF ANTI-ARMOR REQUIREMENTS TO CORRECT THIS SHORTFALL.

3. SECTION V- RSOURCES (PARAS 28-31).

A. UK REP TABLED ALTERNATIVE PARA 28 LANGUAGE TO DESCRIBE ECONOMIC BAKCGROUND LEADING TO 1976 NATO DEFENSE REVIEW, REMOVE PEJORATIVE REFERENCE TO "POLITICAL DECISIONS", AND DESCRIBE NATO ECONOMIC GROWTH PROJECTIONS MORE ACCURATELY THAN PRESENT PARA 31 (DRAWING ON CRRENT ECONOMIC APPRECIATION). THIS GAINED WIDE SUPPORT. US REP GAINED DRC ASSENT TO COMPLETE THIS ECONOMIC BAKCGROUND WITH A STATEMENT, DRAWN FROM THE DECEMBER, 1976 DRC COMMUNIQUE, THAT "MINISTERS HAVE RECOGNIZED THAT THE ACHIEVEMENT OF

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ALLIANCE OBJECTIVES WOULD CALL FOR REAL ANNUAL INCREASES IN DEFENSE EXPENDITURES."

B. DRC THEN TURNED TO ALL-IMPORTANT PARA 29 AND 30 STATEMENTS DESCRIBING ACTUAL RESOURCE NEED FOR DEFENSE. DRC SPLIT ON WHETHER A RANGE (INCLUDING A CEILING) ON DEFENSE EXPENDITURE, OR MERELY A FLOOR SHOULD BE SPECIFIED IN THIS SECTION OF MG77, WITH US REP ARGUING FOR ONLY A FLOOR, AND SAYNG THAT 3 PERCENT WAS PROBABLY A SUITABLE NUMBER (THOUGH NATIONS BELOW THE NATO AVERAGE IN TRADITIONAL ALLIANCE MEASURES OF EFFORT SHOULD DO MORE). FRG AND UK REPS, NOTING THAT THIS WAS THE "TOUGHEST" SECTION OF THE GUIDANCE, AND THAT INSTRUCTIONS ON THIS POINT WOULD SURELY BE NEEDED, SUGGESTED A "BLANK" REFERENCE TO THE ACTUAL FIGURE, WITH THE "BLANK" TO BE FILLED IN ON THE BASIS OF FURTHER DISCUSSION. DRC AGREED. NETHERLANDS REP SUGGESTED ADDITION OF REFERENCE TO "PRESENT FORCE CONTRIBUTION" AND "COST-EFFECTIVENESS OF DEFENSE SPENDING" AS ADDITIONAL INDICES TO MEASURE DEFENSE EFFORT. DRC AGREED TO ALLOW IS TO PRODUCE LANGUAGE ON THESE TWO POINTS FOR NEXT DRAFT. OTHERWISE DRC GAVE IS NO REPEAT NO LATITUDE TO PRODUCE LANGUAGE OTHER THAN THE FOLLOWING: QUOTE: ACCORDINGLY, AN INCREASE IN REAL TERMS OF AT LEASTANNUALLY SHOULD BE ADOPTED FOR ALL MEMER COUNTRIES; IN MOST CASES, AN INCREASE OF A HIGHER ORDER WILL BE NEEDED. IN ARRIVING AT THE REQUIRED LEVEL OF DEFENSE EFFORT OF MEMBER COUNTRIES, ACCOUNT MUST ALSO BE TAKEN OF THE FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL CONSIDERATIONS. A SPECIAL EFFORT WILL BE REQUIRED FROM THOSE NATIONS WHERE THE PERCENTAGE OF GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT DEVOTED TO DEFENSE FALLS BELOW (NATO AVERAGE) PERCENT OR WHERE PER CAPITA DEFENSE EXPENDITURE FALLS BELOW US \$ (NATO AVERAGE) AT 1976 PRICES. ADDITIONALLY, ALL COUNTRIES SHOULD ENDEAVOR TO INCREASE THE PERCENTAGE OF DEFENSE EXPENDITURE DEVOTED TO EQUIPMENT AND SHOULD PROVIDE FULLY FOR THE INFLATIONARY IMPACT OF PAY AND PRICE INCREASES. END QUOTE.

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C. DRC AGREED TO RETAIN ONLY THE SECOND SENTENCE OF PARAGRAPH 31.

4. SECTION VI - ALLIANCE COOPERATION (PARAS 32-39). US REP NOTED ALMOST TOTAL ABSENCE OF REFERENCE TO AREAS OF COOPERATION OTHER THAN STANDARDIZATION AND INTER-OPERABILITY. HE SUGGESTED INSERTION OF SHORT PRESCRIPTIVE PARAGRAPHS ON FLEXIBILITY, RATIONALIZATION OF DOCTRINE AND TRAINING, AND INFRASTRUCTURE. THIS GAINED WIDE SUPPORT; LANGAAGE WILL APPEAR IN NEXT DRAFT. US REP NOTED NEED FOR A STRONGER STATEMENT THAN PRESENT PARA 37 ON THE NEED TO RATIONALIZE NATO'S PLANNING STRUCTURE, WITH A VIEW TOWARD "INTEGRATION" OF SUPPORT PLANNING AND FORCE PLANNING. DRC WAS UNREADY TO ACCEPT AS STRONG A WORD AS "INTEGRATION", AND RETAINED PARA 37 FOR NEXT DRAFT.

5. PRIORITIES. US REP, SUPPORTED STRONGLY BY CANADIAN AND UK REPS, REITERATED THE NEED FOR A SEPARATE SECTION ON DEFENSE PLANNING PRIORITIES (PARA 7, REF B), WHICH WOULD ESTABLISH GUIDELINES FOR NATIONS AND NMAS IN THEIR PREPARATION OF FOCE PROPOSALS AND NATIONAL DEFENSE PROGRAMS. CHAIRMAN AND FRG REP REPEATED THEIR OPPOSITION TO ANY ATTEMPT TO SET SPECIFIC PRIORITIES, COMMENTING THAT THIS TASK SHOULD BE LEFT TO THE NMAS. CANADIAN REP STATED THAT THE "MOST SUBSTANTIVE PART"

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OF HIS INSTRUCTIONS WAS THAT THE GUIDANCE DOCUMENT SHOULD CONTAIN A SECTION ON PRIORITIES. THE DANISH (BELLING), DUTCH AND TURKSIH REPS CONCURRED THAT PRIORITIES SHOULD BE ADDRESSED BUT IN GENERAL RATHER THAN SPECIFIC TERMS, ALONG THE BASIS OF PARAGRAPH 55 OF MG 75. SHAPE REP STATED THAT IF THE DRC ADOPTS LANGUAGE RECOMMENDING CONSIDERATION OF TRADE-OFFS WITHIN NATIONAL DEFENSE PROGRAMS TO MEET HIGHER PRIORITY NATO NEEDS, IT SHOULD BE MADE CLEAR THAT NATIONS, NOT NMA'S PROPOSE SPECIFIC TRADE-OFFS. CHAIRMAN NOTED THAT SUPPORT HAD EMERGED FOR SOME COVERAGE OF PRIORITIES AND STATED THAT IS WOULD INCORPORATE THIS IN THE NEXT DRAFT.

6. SECTION VIII, PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR DEFENSE (PARA 39).

WITH MINOR AMENDMENTS, DRC ACCEPTED PRESENT DRAFT.

7. SECTION IX, GUIDANCE (PARAS 40-50). DRAWING ON REF C, US REP PROPOSED THE INCLUSION OF GUIDANCE TO THE DPC IN PERMANENT SESSION. NO SUPPORT EMERGED FOR THIS SUGGESTION. NOTING THAT THIS ISSUE HAD BEEN DISCUSSED DURING THE

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PREPARATION OF 1975 MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE, FRG REP
STATED THAT GUIDANCE TO THE DPC WOULD RAISE A "CONSTITUTIONAL"
ISSUE IN THAT PERMREPS ARE ACTING ON BEHALF OF THEIR
GOVERNMENTS. DUTCH AND DANISH REPS COMMENTED THAT
INCLUDING DIRECTION TO THE DPC WOULD IMPLY THAT THE
PERMREPS ARE NOT DOING THEIR WORK. NOTING THIS OPPOSITION,
US REP AGREED NO TO PRESS THIS MATTER FURTHER DURING
THE CURRENT DISCUSSIONS, BUT STATED THAT HE WOULD RAISE
THE MATTER WHEN DRC CONSIDERS THE NEXT DRAFT.

8. IS WILL PRODUCE THIRD DRAFT BY MARCH 22 FOR INSTRUCTED
DRC DISCUSSION WEEK OF APRIL 4 (DUE TO FRG INSISTENCE ON
TWO-WEEK DELAY FOR BONN STUDY OF NEW DRAFT). STRAUSZ-HUPE

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptoning: X
Capture Date: 30-Aug-1999 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 21-Mar-1977 12:00:00 am
Decapton Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decapton Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977NATO01573
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Expiration:
Film Number: n/a
Format: TEL
From: NATO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t197703110/baabckq.tel
Line Count: 396
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Message ID: cc9c01b0-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 8
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: (A) USNATO 1451 (DTG 141808Z MAR 77), (B) USNATO 1537 (DTG 171920Z MAR 77), (C) STATE 049216 (DTG 050121Z MAR 77)
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 01-Oct-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2963014
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE 1977; DRC DISCUSSION OF SECOND DRAFT
TAGS: MPOL, NATO
To: STATE SECDEF MULTIPLE
Type: TE
vdkgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/cc9c01b0-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009